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An introduction to the
study of colonial history

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AN INTRODUCTION TO
THE STUDY OF COLONIAL
HISTORY

HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY. No. 16

EDITED BY C. JOHNSON, M.A., AND J. P. WHITNEY, D.D., D.C.L.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE
STUDY OF
COLONIAL HISTORY

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF COLONIAL HISTORY

FOR practical convenience the history of the territories beyond the confines of Europe that are inhabited or governed by men of European stock is classified under the rough heading of "Colonial History." In the United States of America, Brazil and the Spanish-speaking states of Central and South America the early colonies have cast off the yoke of the mother-country, and colonial history is concerned with their story only during the period that preceded the declaration of their independence. The subject does not deal with the internal history of particular oversea communities, which belongs rather to the "history of colonies," but with the process whereby Europeans have extended their influence beyond their own boundaries, and have either set up thriving communities of their own race or established their rule over native populations. Each of the western nations has played a part in working out the process; Portugal, Spain, the Dutch and Flemings, England and France in turn, have each done much, and each has left a permanent impress on large territories

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in the outer world; but the greatest of all colonising powers has been Britain, and the study of colonial history must always be preponderantly concerned with her activities.

Colonial history forms an integral part of the general history of the Occidental peoples, and describes that side of their activities in virtue of which since the fifteenth century they have been urged forth beyond the sea in search of trade, of dominion over peoples of different race, and of unoccupied lands in which to found new settlements. In a certain sense this last impulse of expansion is the oldest of all, for it is the modern continuance of the age-long process whereby men of North European stock have in successive waves moved out from their early homes to find new ones in Greece or Gaul or Spain, in Britain or Normandy, in Iceland or in Greenland. But though colonial history is thus but a continuation of the history of folk-wanderings, it is not concerned with movements in Europe or overland, but deals only with those movements of the European peoples which have carried them beyond the ocean. It has its earliest beginnings in the middle of the fourteenth century, when the sailors of the west began to push out by the easiest way into the Atlantic, and the first oversea settlement beyond the Pillars of Hercules was founded in the Canary Islands off the north-west coast of Africa. From that date onwards the history of colonisation is continuously bound up with the economic and commercial history of the European peoples, and from the beginning of

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the sixteenth century, when the various nations began to come into conflict over the opportunities that existed for further expansion, it becomes an important part of their political history. Naval history and colonial history are so closely connected throughout this early period that they practically form one subject. At a later date, when settled communities had been founded across the sea, there is a side of colonial history that comes closely into contact with the Constitutional history of certain nations, and notably of Spain, Holland and Britain. Thus the whole subject must be considered with historical setting against the European background, and it is necessary to have a general knowledge of the history of the nations concerned before the profitable study of colonial history can be undertaken. The subject has frequently been confused with the history of colonies, and has thus often become merely a collection of disconnected narratives of events in certain of the European communities beyond the sea, and treated in little relation with the rest of the world; it is in reality something quite different and much broader in character, and deals with the sequence of domestic events in the various oversea communities only when those events had some direct bearing upon the common life of the empires concerned or upon the general history of the maritime nations. Its main concern is to trace out the development of European activity beyond the sea and to examine the history of the interaction of the European with the less civilised races.

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Two empires hold a pre-eminent position in Colonial history, the Spanish and the British; three others, the colonial empires of Portugal, Holland and France, are also of great importance, but the colonising activities of all the other European nations have, down to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, been spasmodic and insignificant. It is true that the colonising activities of Russia have been continuous and important since the seventeenth century, but since they have been carried out almost entirely overland, they do not fall within the limits of our subject as defined above. The colonial empire of Spain loomed larger than any other in the eyes of colonial historians down to the close of the eighteenth century, when her colonies threw off their allegiance and embarked upon their history as the independent nations of Latin America; the colonial activities of France had a long and profound influence upon the expansion of European power, but in the middle of the eighteenth century most of her colonies fell to Britain by right of conquest, and for something like eighty years France ceased to be a power of colonial importance. Later she took again a first-rate part in oceanic enterprise, and the history of the founding of her second colonial empire in North Africa, Further India and the Pacific is of an importance that is hardly yet fully realised. The history of Portugal as a colonising power is of great importance in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but after that date it dwindles into a mere prelude to the domestic

history of modern Brazil and, like the obscure and uneventful history of her African possessions, demands little attention. In a similar way the history of the Dutch colonies, and especially of the Dutch East India Company, is very important in the middle of the seventeenth century, but it sinks into comparative insignificance until the end of the eighteenth, when Britain became the successor of Holland in the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon and Demerara, and the Dutch were deprived of almost all their colonial possessions save those in the East Indian Archipelago.

The only power whose colonial activities have been of world importance at all periods since the beginning of the seventeenth century is Great Britain, and colonial history is therefore concerned in a preponderant degree with the history of the expansion of her empire. This may be taken with propriety as the central theme, and the history of other colonial powers may be grouped around and considered in relation to it. Britain's prominence in the colonial field has been due to several causes, but above all to the inherent and intimate dependence of colonial power upon the command of the sea. In the sixteenth century, when Portugal and Spain were the dominant naval powers, colonial history is mainly concerned with their colonies and oversea possessions and the attacks of other powers upon them. In the seventeenth century, when sea-power was wrested from their hands and fell into abeyance between England and the Dutch, it is concerned with the

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gradual establishment of each of their colonial empires; in the eighteenth, when France took the place of Holland as a competitor against England for sea-power, colonial history is intimately bound up with the history of that contest; but from the time when Britain as victor could devote herself to developing her empire with little fear of hostile attack, her activities are almost all that need concern the colonial historian. Her naval victory, however, was followed within twenty years by a failure that did much to consummate the break-up of her old empire and the foundation of a new Anglo-Saxon nation in the United States, and a new division of interest takes place.

Colonial history strictly ceases to be concerned with the affairs of the new power after its independence had been acknowledged, but it cannot rightly neglect the supremely important happenings that preceded and accompanied the establishment of the constitution of the United States of America, for many of the later events in the history of the British Empire were profoundly influenced thereby. Many of the problems that have had to be solved in connection with the colonies inhabited by men of British stock can best be studied in the voluminous literature dealing with the history of the United States, and many aspects of that history are closely allied with colonial history, and notably the story of the expansion of settlement westward across the American continent. The break-up of the old British empire in America was almost exactly contemporary with the consolidation of the British

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dominion in India, and the minds of her statesmen were closely concentrated upon Indian affairs to the comparative exclusion of interest in the beginnings of British emigration to Canada and the Antipodes that within fifty years gave her a new empire in place of the old. The colonial history of the later period, therefore, develops along two sharply divergent lines which, though apparent at an earlier date, are now far more clearly marked than before.

The history of the colonies settled by a population of European descent is concerned largely with constitutional problems dealing with their gradual acquisition of full rights of self-government and ultimately of a dominion status which differs little from nationhood. This progress derives directly from the history of the colonies of the old empire and in many ways runs parallel to the history of the United States. It is peculiar to the colonies of Britain, and is nowhere found in the colonies belonging to other powers, so that it has naturally attracted a preponderant share of attention from British writers, and its importance has been comparatively little appreciated abroad. The second great division of the subject in the nineteenth century is concerned with Britain's work in India and her gradual evolution of methods of government that have given peace, order and justice to the peoples of the Peninsula. It is closely connected with the history of her similar work in her Crown colonies and protectorates.

In the kind of work done in the Dominions

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and in India Britain has had no competitor, and her success or failure must be judged by absolute standards, but other European nations have long possessed colonies of a similar character to the Crown colonies, and fresh powers have in the course of the nineteenth century acquired and begun to develop such colonies inhabited by peoples in a low stage of civilisation, and all situated within the tropics, and thus unsuited for settlement by immigrants of European stock. Such regions are only of secondary political importance in the new British Empire, and their history has therefore demanded only a minor share of the attention of English writers; but to other European nations the term "colony" connotes a tropical dependency producing the raw materials for consumption or industry that cannot be raised in Europe, and the interest of their colonial statesmen and writers has therefore mainly been directed to the history of such territories, and to the means of exploiting the labour of the native races in order to secure greater returns and richer profits from their possessions. In this last part of the subject, therefore, we have criteria for the comparison of the colonial achievements of the different nations, and we find that the struggle for colonial power in the last fifty years has mainly been concerned with the partition of Tropical Africa, and the delimitation of spheres of action in Further Asia, where such opportunities of exploitation mainly exist.

In the century that followed the close of the Napoleonic wars, Britain's dominant position as

a naval power was never challenged, and because she did not attempt to utilise her naval superiority to exclude other nations from a share in oversea enterprise, the intimate connection between sea-power and colonial power was lost sight of. With the outbreak of the world war in 1914 the foundations of colonial power were again disclosed, and the rapid and complete fall of the colonies of Britain's enemies once more illustrated the principles that unify the oceanic history of the last three centuries. The colonial history of the century 1814-1914 is divorced from naval history because the time was one of almost unbroken peace at sea; the colonial history of the most recent period, that of war, is even more closely allied with it than that of any preceding epoch.

In entering upon a course of reading in colonial history, mainly directed to the history of British expansion, the student will find himself faced at the outset with the serious difficulty that there is no standard comprehensive work dealing with the whole subject in the same way that John Richard Green has told the history of the mother-country in his *Short History of England*. Sir John Seeley's well-known book on *The Expansion of England* contains only a series of lectures of brilliant suggestiveness dealing rapidly with a few selected aspects of the great subject, but giving no indications for further connected reading. Sir Charles Lucas's little book on *The British Empire* gives perhaps the best rapid survey of the whole narra-

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tive in brief compass, and every student is recommended to familiarise himself with it. Numerous histories of individual colonies have been written, but they do not provide the best means of approach to the wider subject, since in almost all cases they are narrowly confined to the story of particular parts of the Empire and rarely place that story in an appropriate setting as part of the greater whole with a background of world history. For an introduction to the history of particular colonies the student cannot do better than trust to the admirable series of volumes in Sir Charles Lucas's *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, with an introductory volume on *The Origin and Growth of the British Colonies*. He may also read the single volume by various contributors edited by Prof. A. F. Pollard, called *The British Empire*, though a portion of the matter contained therein is not historical. A good connected story of the empire as a whole is to be found in the chapters on colonial history scattered through the volumes of the *Cambridge Modern History*, and the student may be recommended to make a list of these chapters and read them consecutively. He will note that they are very unequal in treatment, and that they leave many gaps in the story, but by aid of the bibliographies attached to each volume he will find that they afford an excellent starting-point for wider reading. It is essential for every student to possess and make constant reference to the Historical Association's leaflet, *Select Bibliography of Books relating to Colonial History*.

The only satisfactory way of gaining a comprehensive knowledge of the course of British expansion overseas is to study it chronologically as a connected story of development, and to take up the thread of the story in each colony in turn where the events within its borders had an influence upon the growth of the empire as a whole. In these pages an attempt is made to indicate the titles of some of the books in which such a study may be undertaken, but owing to limitations of space nothing but a few of the more accessible books can be mentioned, and each of them must be taken merely as a starting-point, whence more specialised reading can proceed with the aid of the references and bibliographies there given.

THE BEGINNINGS OF OCEANIC ENTERPRISE.

A general survey of the course of events leading up to the discovery of the New World and the first Portuguese voyages to the Indies is to be found in the first volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*, and the early conditions prevailing in America are also dealt with there. The economic results of the discoveries are treated by Dr. W. A. Cunningham in the same volume in his chapter on "Economic Change." Fuller surveys of these, as of other events in American history, together with excellent maps, are given in Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, an elaborate work with numberless references.

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Detailed study of the early period can be undertaken in Prof. Raymond Beazley's *Dawn of Modern Geography*, vol. iii. This work deals authoritatively with the early overland travels to the East, and gives full references to original authorities concerning mediæval attempts at exploration in the Atlantic. The early Portuguese voyages are fully treated in the same author's *Prince Henry the Navigator*, and the story is continued in Jayne's *Vasco da Gama and his Successors* and F. C. Danvers's *Portuguese in India*, vol. i., an excellent account of the whole period of Portuguese rule. The work of Columbus is vividly but accurately told in Filson Young's *Columbus* (2 vols.), while the voyages of the Cabots are critically considered by Prof. Beazley in his *Life of John and Sebastian Cabot*. The documents relating to the explorations of the Cabots and the early Portuguese explorers in North America have been collected and published with a critical introduction, maps and notes by H. P. Biggar in his *Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534*. A lively and interesting account of early English exploration and its connection with the general course of commerce is given by J. A. Williamson in his *English Maritime Enterprise, 1485-1558*.

The story of the Spanish conquests can still be read with advantage in W. H. Prescott's *The Conquest of Mexico* and *The Conquest of Peru*, which are available in many editions; there is a full and accessible history of early Spanish colonisation in Sir Arthur Helps's *The Spaniards in America*, but

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a more recent and critical account is given by E. G. Bourne in his *Spain in America*, vol. iii. of *The American Nation—a History*, edited by A. B. Hart. Perhaps the most useful survey for readers who are not specialists is that contained in Lannoy and Vanderlinden's *Histoire de la Colonisation chez les Peuples Européens—Espagne et Portugal*.

For the detailed study of the Spanish explorations and conquest reference must be made to the translations of the original Spanish authorities in the publications of the Hakluyt Society. The same series also contains volumes relating to the Portuguese explorations and those of the Cabots, etc. Each volume is provided with a critical introduction and full notes. The fullest documentary evidence concerning the work of the Spaniards is to be found in Navarrete's *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos para Historia de España*.

French attempts at exploration and colonisation are not fully treated in any English work, but Francis Parkman deals with them in his *Pioneers of France in the New World*, and the latter part of the early period of French enterprise is treated by H. P. Biggar in his *Early Trading Companies of New France*. The subject is authoritatively treated by Charles de la Roncière in *Histoire de la Marine française*, vols. iii. and iv. Reference may also be made to P. Gaffarel's *Histoire du Brésil français au 16^e siècle*.

The background of early English oceanic enterprise is described by Sir Charles Lucas in *Begin-*

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nings of Overseas Enterprise—A Prelude to the Empire, and the naval history of the Elizabethan period by Sir Julian Corbett in his *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (2 vols.), and the companion volume *The Successors of Drake*. The original narratives of the English explorers, and the first attempts at colonisation, are to be found in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries*, the definitive edition of which has been published for the Hakluyt Society by Messrs. Maclehose at the Glasgow University Press, with maps, and an admirable introduction by Sir Walter Raleigh, giving a survey of the oceanic enterprise of the English in the Elizabethan Age. The accounts of the English voyages have been republished with the text of Messrs. Maclehose's edition in eight volumes of Messrs. Dent's Everyman Library, which are so cheap as to be purchasable by every student. Many early accounts omitted by Hakluyt, together with narratives of the succeeding period, were collected by Samuel Purchas in his continuation of Hakluyt called *Haklutus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrims*, published in an uniform edition by Messrs. Maclehose for the Hakluyt Society.

The official documents relating to the early English voyages and colonising attempts are calendared in the first volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies, 1513-1616*, by W. Noel Sainsbury. The events leading up to the foundation of the first English East India Company are dealt with in H. Stevens's *Dawn of English Trade to the East Indies* and in *The First Letter Book of the*

East India Company, 1600-1619, edited by Sir George Birdwood and W. Foster. The organisation and financial history of the Companies that undertook trade and colonisation are authoritatively treated by Prof. W. R. Scott in his *Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720* (3 vols.). In the first volume Prof. Scott deals with the general financial and commercial history of the time, and in the second with the financial affairs of each of the early colonising companies in turn. The references and bibliography attached to these volumes are invaluable for the student of early colonial history.

The principal maps illustrative of the progress of discovery to the end of the sixteenth century are listed in a descriptive *Catalogue of Maps illustrating the Age of Discovery* exhibited at University College, London, in January, 1919.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE FIRST ENGLISH COLONIES.

The most accessible general survey of the early history of the English colonies in America is to be found in J. A. Doyle's chapters in vol. vii. of the *Cambridge Modern History* on "The United States," and another good survey of the early period is given by L. G. Tyler in *England in America*, vol. iv. of Hart's *American Nation*. The authoritative works concerning the establishment of the English colonies are those of J. A. Doyle on *English in America, Virginia, Maryland and the*

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Carolinas and *The Puritan Colonies*, now to a certain extent superseded by Prof. H. L. Osgood's *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (3 vols.). Doyle's work is in narrative form and gives the story in great detail, while Prof. Osgood deals with the colonies more from the constitutional standpoint, and considers their history as one of growth and gradual consolidation. Almost the whole of the documents relating to the founding of Virginia are collected by Alexander Brown in his *Genesis of the United States* (2 vols.) and *The First Republic in America*, together with valuable biographical details which are not readily obtainable elsewhere. Dr. Susan Kingsbury has printed *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, in two volumes, with a valuable bibliographical and historical introduction which is published separately. The charters of other trading and colonising companies about the same date have been printed by the Selden Society.

The early history of the Bermudas has been treated authoritatively with much documentary material by Sir J. H. Lefroy in *Memorials of the Discovery, etc., of the Bermudas* (2 vols.), but the early history of the English in the West Indies has been comparatively little studied. A survey of the story may be found in Dr. A. P. Newton's *Colonising Activities of the English Puritans*, and reference may also be made to Sir R. Schomburgk's *History of Barbadoes* and T. Southey's *Chronological History of the West Indies*, both books now many years old but not yet replaced. Bryan

Edwards's *History of the British West Indies* was written at the end of the eighteenth century and is more of a political and economic treatise than pure history, but reference must still be made to it for the history of many of the islands.

The economic life of the early colonial empire has been satisfactorily treated by G. L. Beer in *The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660*. The economic history of early Virginia is told in P. A. Bruce's *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, and of the northern colonies in Weeden's *Economic and Social History of New England*. The history of the early American colonies has gathered about it a voluminous literature, and the titles of many further books, with suggestions for extended courses of reading, can be found by reference to Channing and Hart's *Guide to American History*.

The original documents relating to the English colonies in the Western Hemisphere were poorly calendared by W. Noel Sainsbury in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, West Indies, 1574-1655*, and there are many addenda for this period in the subsequent volume dealing with 1674. The history of the establishment of English factories in the East Indies, and the struggles of the English against the Portuguese and Dutch, may be read in Sir W. W. Hunter's *History of British India*, vols. i. and ii., all that are completed. For the foundation of the colonial empire of Holland, Lannoy and Vanderlinden's *Histoire de l'Expansion coloniale, Néerlande et Danemarke* should be consulted, and

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further reference made to P. J. Blok's *History of the Netherlands* and the books therein quoted. The documents relating to the English story down to 1623 have been calendared in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, East Indies and Persia*, and continued in the unofficial series edited by Miss E. N. Sainsbury down to the period of the Interregnum. The history of the colonies under the Commonwealth and Protectorate has not yet been fully investigated, and Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* continued by Prof. Firth must be consulted for Cromwell's colonial policy. This may be supplemented by N. Darnall Davis's little book on *Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbadoes*.

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND WORKING OF THE OLD COLONIAL SYSTEM.

The majority of the books that have been mentioned as suitable for a general survey of the early period may also be consulted for the period between the Restoration and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, during which the old empire was established on a firm basis and the colonial system was in full operation. To them may be added the very interesting little book by Prof. C. M. Andrews on *The Colonial Period*. The time was peculiarly one of economic preoccupation and commercial development, and its most notable characteristics are clearly brought out in G. B. Hertz's *Old Colonial*

System. There is a more detailed treatment in G. L. Beer's *The Old Colonial System*, part of a larger study carrying on the story through the eighteenth century, which is not yet completed. Every student should read the chapters relating to the colonies in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, which is available in an excellent cheap edition in the Oxford Press World's Classics.

Detailed narratives of the events of the time in the American colonies are to be found in J. A. Doyle's previously mentioned works supplemented by *The Middle Colonies* and *The Colonies under the House of Hanover*. A broader and more critical treatment is to be found in Prof. C. M. Andrews's *Colonial Self-Government* and Prof. E. B. Greene's *Colonial Commonwealths*, vols. vi. and vii. in Hart's *American Nation*. Prof. H. L. Osgood's *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. iii., treats the history mainly from the constitutional standpoint, and this is also dealt with in E. B. Greene's *The Provincial Governor in the English Colonies of North America* and Andrews's *British Committees, Commissions and Councils of Trade and Plantations (1622-75)* in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*.

The important history of the contest between England, France and Spain in the West Indies during this period has been sadly neglected, but F. S. Pitman's *British Colonies in the West Indies, 1700-63*, does something to remedy this defect. The buccaneers are dealt with by C. H. Haring in his *Buccaneers in the West Indies in the Seventeenth*

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Century, which is largely a reprint of Esquemeling's contemporary but mendacious work. The story of the founding and early history of the Hudson's Bay Company is told in vol. i. of Beckles Willson's *The Great Company*, and that of the tragic fate of Scottish colonial enterprise in C. B. Burton's *Darien Company*. Francis Parkman's works deal graphically with many aspects of the story of French colonisation and exploration in Canada and Louisiana, while the difficulties between the French and English concerning the Newfoundland fisheries are described by Prowse in his *History of Newfoundland*, though the subject has not yet been authoritatively treated.

The printed documentary evidence for the period is very voluminous on the American side. The principal charters, etc., are printed by W. Macdonald in *Select Charters illustrative of American History to 1783*. The *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies*, has now proceeded as far as the reign of Queen Anne, and is supplemented by the *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series*, which reprints verbatim the entries in the Privy Council Register relating to colonial affairs. The reports of the Board of Trade and Plantations are printed in the *Calendar of MSS. of the House of Lords*, and very full extracts from the correspondence relating to the colonies, and especially the colony of New York, are printed in *Documents relating to Colonial History of New York* edited by E. B. O'Callaghan. Reference to unprinted materials is greatly facilitated by the

Guide to Materials for American History to 1783 in the Public Record Office of Great Britain, and the other Guides published by the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. These guides deal with the collections of MSS. in the archives of several countries, but by far the most important are those relating to MSS. in English archives in three volumes by Prof. Andrews, assisted in the case of minor archives by Miss Frances Davenport. The Institution has recently published a volume of *Treaties relating to America to 1648* under the editorship of the latter investigator.

The story of the English factories on the African coast and their relations with the factories of other powers, and the beginnings of the slave-trade, has been little studied, but reference to earlier works on the subject may be found in Sir Charles Lucas's *Historical Geography of the West African Colonies*. The papers of the Royal African Company in the Public Record Office are briefly described in the Carnegie Guide, and a detailed MS. Catalogue is upon the shelves in the Literary Search Room of the Office.

The progress of the East India Company is described with documentary evidence in J. Bruce's *Annals of the East India Company* and in the larger standard histories of India, but perhaps the most interesting survey of the period is to be found in Dalton's *Life of Thomas Pitt, Governor of Madras*. Many of the records of the period have been printed in the *Records of Old Madras* and the similar series

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relating to early Bengal, reference to which can be made by means of the *Catalogue of the Library of the India Office*.

THE STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE FOR COLONIAL POWER AND THE BREAK-UP OF THE OLD EMPIRE.

It is essential that every student of this period shall first familiarise himself with Seeley's *Expansion of England*, and he may also be strongly recommended to read the second volume of the same author's *Growth of British Policy*. At no period of history has the trend of events in the outer world been more clearly dependent upon the course of naval history, and Admiral Mahan's classic work on *The Influence of Sea-Power upon History* ought to be read by everyone. For the course of events in the struggle between France and England in America reference should be made to the works of Francis Parkman, and for the aftermath of the struggle especially to his *Conspiracy of Pontiac*. A. G. Bradley's *Fight with France for North America* gives a graphic and very readable survey of the whole struggle. For the land struggle in India the authoritative life of Clive in two volumes by Sir George Forrest, or the shorter biography in the *Rulers of India* series, may be read, and further reference made to the works there quoted. The older histories of British India, like that of Mill, deal fully with the struggle, but tend to lose sight of the great movements in an over-elaboration of detail.

The most accessible survey of the constitutional difficulties leading up to the revolt of the American colonies is to be found in vol. vii. of the *Cambridge Modern History*. A good deal of work has been done in recent years in connection with the events preceding the Revolution and the underlying causes of the antagonism between the colonies and the mother-country. The resulting monographs are very detailed, and it is impossible here to particularise them. Reference should be made to J. N. Larned's *Literature of American History, a Bibliographical Guide*, which is a useful starting-point for investigators of any part of the history of the old empire. G. L. Beer's *British Colonial Policy, 1754-65*, should be read by all students of the period, and K. M. Hotblack's *Chatham's Colonial Policy* may also be consulted. A full narrative of the events of the Revolution is to be found in W. E. Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, which is, of course, indispensable for the period. The strong Whig view of the Revolution and its causes is to be found in Sir George Trevelyan's *American Revolution*, and this may profitably be compared with the very critical American view of the same events expressed by S. G. Fisher in his *True Story of the American Revolution*. The story of the United Empire Loyalists is told by Prof. Egerton in his introduction to the Roxburghe Club volume on *Loyalist Claims*. The action of France in supporting the revolted colonists may be studied in E. S. Corwin's *French Policy and the American Alliance*. Many

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important documents relating to the Revolution are calendared by the Historical MSS. Commission in the *MSS. of the Earl of Dartmouth* and the *American MSS. in the Royal Institution*. Other manuscript and printed sources may be referred to by means of the bibliography attached to Prof. Van Tyne's volume on *The American Revolution*, vol. ix. of Hart's *American Nation*.

The story of the early struggles of the United States may be read in George Bancroft's standard *History of the United States*, but the most accessible clear account of the formation of the Constitution is probably that in vol. vii. of the *Cambridge Modern History*, where the various causes at work are carefully examined, and there is no superfluity of detail. The best modern history of the period is undoubtedly Prof. Channing's *History of the United States*. Every student of colonial history should read Alexander Hamilton's *Federalist* and F. S. Oliver's admirable *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, now obtainable in a cheap edition.

THE ORGANISATION AND GROWTH OF BRITISH INDIA.

The standard histories of British India contain full accounts of the work of Warren Hastings and his immediate successors and there is therefore no need here to particularise, but mention may be made of the very clear and readable account given by P. E. Roberts in the Indian volume in Sir Charles Lucas's *Historical Geography*. All students

are recommended to read Prof. Ramsay Muir's *Making of British India*, which consists of documentary extracts united by a clear explanatory narrative. The book is an introduction to the study of history in original documents, and will be found of great interest even to schoolboys. The difficulties with which Hastings had to cope can well be studied in Sydney C. Grier's historically accurate novel *The Great Pro-consul*. The friendly view of his life and work is given in Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, the hostile in Mill's *History of British India*. Sir G. E. Forrest's *Warren Hastings* is illustrated by many documents, and the history of the subsequent period may be studied in S. Owen's *Wellesley Despatches*, supplemented by the same author's *Wellington Despatches*, which treat of the work of Marquis Wellesley and his brother more from the military point of view. These collections, though valuable to the student of the period, are not provided with full introductions, and are therefore hardly suited to the general reader.

Sir Alfred Lyall's *Rise and Expansion of the British Power in India* should be familiar to every student, for it avoids unnecessary detail and gives broad general views of the trend of events and their underlying causes. The series of biographies called *Rulers of India* has already been referred to, and perhaps the best rapid view of Indian history can be obtained by reading the whole series in chronological order. An authoritative account of the gradual experimental growth of British policy

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in its broader aspects is to be found in Sir William Lee Warner's very interesting book on *The Native States of India*. There is a full account of the organisation and activities of the East India Company in its later years in Kaye's *Administration of the East India Company*. The volume of literature concerning Britain's work in India down to 1858 is very large, and students who are specialising in the subject must gradually work out into it by means of the bibliographies attached to the works here quoted. They should also be acquainted with the monumental volumes of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* and should attempt to secure access to the splendid Library of the India Office. The history of the numerous Indian military campaigns and the military operations of the Indian Mutiny has demanded perhaps an undue share of the attention of writers, but no further reference need here be made to this side of the subject.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW EMPIRE.

While Warren Hastings was working out in Bengal the principles on which Britain has built up her administration of her great dependency and the Crown colonies, the foundations of a new empire in Canada and Australia inhabited by men of British stock were being well and truly laid. Before entering on a study of the history of this new empire it would be well for the student to undertake some general reading that is not strictly chronological or narrative in character, but will

give him a broader view of the general movement of history. He may be recommended to read, on the one hand, certain modern books, and especially Prof. H. E. Egerton's indispensable *Short History of British Colonial Policy*, Lionel Curtis's *The Commonwealth of Nations* (Part i.), and Dr. A. P. Newton's *The Old Empire and the New*. On the other hand, he will profit by reading something of Lord Brougham's *The Colonial Policy of the European Powers* (1803), Herman Merivale's *Lectures on Colonisation and Colonies* (1841), Sir George Cornewall Lewis's *Essay on the Government of Dependencies* (1841), edited by Sir Charles Lucas, and other older books of the kind, which will show him how the problems of colonial administration were regarded before the great communities of the new empire had acquired the rights and powers of responsible government.

The earliest signs of expanding life in the outer Empire after the shock of the Revolution were to be seen in Canada, and these may be studied in Sir Charles Lucas's *History of Canada, 1763-1812*, where the work of Sir Guy Carleton and other administrators in welding the old French province into the empire is described and its effects estimated. Another excellent work is A. G. Bradley's *Making of Canada*, which deals with the same period in shorter compass. In Canada Britain had to discover by political experiment how to ensure order and good government to a mixed population, consisting in part of the old French settlers with an alien outlook, tongue and religion, in part of loyalist

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refugees from the revolted colonies with a highly sensitive political consciousness, and in part of newly arrived emigrants who had been compelled to leave their native land by economic oppression and severe distress. The solution was found in the development of the principles of self-government that had prevailed in the old empire and their adaptation to the circumstances of the new; and it is essential for every student to read the more important parts of Lord Durham's *Report* of 1839, which can best be studied in Sir Charles Lucas's authoritative edition. This is in three volumes, the first of which provides an important historical introduction and commentary, and the second the text of the Report.

Interesting material illustrative of the gradual growth of constitutional government in Canada is to be found in Egerton and Grant's *Canadian Constitutional Development*, and the policy of the British ministry in granting rights of self-government to the colonies can be examined in *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*, by Earl Grey (1853).

The second great difficulty that had to be solved in the early days of the new empire was concerned with the encouragement of emigration and the satisfactory allocation of lands to the settlers. This difficulty appeared in its most acute form in Australia, and there the most important steps were made towards its solution. Emigration and land grants were also intimately connected with another problem of great importance, that of the trans-

portation of convicted criminals, a process that had gone on since the earliest days of the empire, and here again the troubles in regard to it were finally worked out in Australia. The early history of the discovery of Australia and the exploration of the South Seas can be studied in E. Heawood's *Geographical Discovery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, which places them in their proper historical setting. After the explorations of Captain Cook the first use made of the new territories was for the establishment of convict settlements and the history of the difficulties connected with these can be read in E. Jenks's *History of Australasian Colonies from Foundation to Year 1907*, Prof. E. Scott's *Short History of Australia*, or J. D. Rogers's volume in Lucas's *Historical Geography*, all of which treat succinctly of the general history of the Australasian colonies. Fuller details can be found in G. Burnett Barton's *History of New South Wales from the Records, 1783-89*, and in G. W. Rusden's *History of Australia* (in three volumes), which is regarded as the standard work upon the subject. Many of the early records have been printed in *The Historical Records of New South Wales, 1762-1811*, in seven volumes, a continuing series published by the Government of New South Wales.

With the introduction of free settlers into Australia, even during the period while the colony remained a penal settlement, difficulties concerning land grants attracted greater attention, and in connection with these the student should read

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Edward Gibbon Wakefield's celebrated book on *The Art of Colonisation*, originally published in 1849. Wakefield was interested not only in the colonisation of Australia, but at a later date in that of New Zealand, and a study of his work therefore forms an appropriate introduction to the early history of British colonisation there. In Australia the colonists had had little difficulty in dealing with the few and scattered native tribes, but in New Zealand they had to contend against the intelligent and warlike Maoris and ultimately to find a way in which they could live in peace side by side with them. The story of these difficulties and the ultimate solution is of great importance as governing the relation of the Imperial government to the internal military affairs of a self-governing colony, and can also be studied as illustrative of different phases of British relations with native races in T. M. Hocken's *Early History of New Zealand*, or in greater detail in G. W. Rusden's *History of New Zealand* in three volumes. The contemporary story can be read in A. S. Thomson's *Story of New Zealand* in two volumes, published in 1859.

While the self-governing colonies were slowly expanding into prosperity and political maturity, the older tropical dependencies of the empire were rapidly running downhill and suffering severe economic distress. There is no satisfactory history of the West Indies for the period after 1800, but their story must be gleaned incidentally in connection with two great struggles that were of

vital importance not only to the British Empire but the world. The first of these was the fight for the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery, and the student of this must begin with T. Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade*, 1839, though it is not an entirely satisfactory work, for it ignores all points of view but the author's own. From that point he must work out into the maze of Parliamentary debates and published correspondence, for he will find that little modern work has been done upon the subject.

The second controversy concerned the question of colonial preference and of bounties in which the tropical colonies were intimately interested. It can be studied in Bernard Holland's *The Fall of Protection*, which gives a readable account of the difficulties and Parliamentary struggles that ultimately ended in the abolition of all bounties and colonial preference and the repeal of the Navigation Laws that were an essential factor in the old colonial system. Further reading is needed in the mass of materials contained in *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* and the long series of Acts concerning colonial preference and bounties that are to be found printed in *The Statutes at Large*. A good deal of illumination on the attitude of the extreme advocates of the Manchester School towards the colonies can be obtained from Richard Cobden's *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy*, edited by John Bright, and J. E. Thorold Rogers's *The Selected Speeches of Sir William Molesworth*, edited by Prof.

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H. E. Egerton, are indispensable for the student of British colonial policy in the mid-Victorian period.

The difficulties caused by the abolition of slavery caused great economic distress in the West Indies for many years, but they were unattended by serious political troubles. In South Africa, however, they did a good deal to embitter the feeling between the Dutch colonists and the English government and by bringing about the Great Trek accelerated the opening-up of the unexplored interior of the sub-continent. More serious obstacles to the granting of responsible government were met with in South Africa than in any other colony owing to the hampering of its development, first owing to the dangers arising from the presence of great and warlike native tribes on the borders of the white men's settlements, and secondly because of the repeated misunderstandings and antagonisms between the Dutch and British settlers. Down to the grant of full responsible government to Cape Colony in 1872 the affairs of South Africa had little influence on the life of the empire as a whole, and they may be studied independently in Sir Charles Lucas's volume on South Africa, and W. B. Worsfold's little *History of South Africa*—which make, perhaps, the best starting-point. Details can be sought in the crowded pages of G. M. Theal's voluminous *History of South Africa*, and reference to printed authorities made by means of Sidney Mendelssohn's elaborate *Bibliography of South Africa*. Students must be cautioned that

serious criticism has been levied against Theal's historical works as infused with strong political bias. The more important constitutional documents have been collected by G. W. Eybers in *Select Constitutional Documents relating to South Africa*. Prof. G. C. Henderson's *Life of Sir George Grey* may be read with profit in this connection as giving an insight into the life of one who had great influence over the early development of three colonies, South Australia, New Zealand and the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and whose career illustrates the underlying unity of our Imperial history.

PROGRESS IN THE ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE.

During the thirty years that elapsed between the grant of responsible government to the colonies of British North America and the last of such grants, that to Cape Colony, an entire change came over the outer empire, and where there had been only "dependencies" of the mother-country, thought by many to be nothing but a clog and expense to her, these were now rapidly growing communities with a strong local patriotism and a determination to cope with their difficulties without interference from outside. British North America led the way towards a solution of common difficulties by federation, and every student must know something of the history of the negotiations that brought about the passing of the British

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North America Act of 1867, whereby the Dominion of Canada, the first confederation within the British Empire, was brought into existence. The story derives directly from the earlier confederation of the United States, and the books that have already been mentioned should be consulted in this connection. The outlines of the work for confederation can be read in any history of Canada, and notably C. G. D. Roberts's pleasant little textbook, *The History of Canada for High Schools and Academies*, or A. G. Bradley's Home University volume on *Canada*. The detailed story can be read in Boyd's *Life of Sir George Etienne Cartier*, the Hon. J. Young's *Public Men and Public Life in Canada*, A. P. Poley's *Federal Systems of the United States and the British Empire*, and Prof. Egerton's indispensable books on *Canadian Constitutional Development* and *Federations and Unions in the British Empire*. The fullest history will be found in the appropriate volumes of Shortt and Doughty's *Canada and its Provinces*, in twenty-three volumes.

For the abortive attempts of Lord Carnarvon to bring about a federation of the British colonies in South Africa the student may consult any of the larger histories. C. D. Allin describes clearly the constitutional history of Australia with special reference to the movement for federation in *The Early Federal Movement in Australia*, and the actual achievement of confederation is told by the Hon. B. R. Wise in *The Making of the Australian Commonwealth*, 1889-1900.

The history of the unification of South Africa derives from two sources, the general movement towards national self-realisation in the dominions, and the tangled story of the difficulties between English, Dutch and natives in South Africa itself. A comprehensive survey of that story from the political standpoint is to be found in F. R. Cana's *South Africa from the Great Trek to the Union*, and one of less detail in W. C. Scully's *History of South Africa from the Earliest Days to the Union*, though neither of these books is to be compared with Worsfold's excellent little book mentioned above. The student will find it advisable to supplement these narratives by occasional but cautious reference for details of particular events to the larger works of G. M. Theal and notably his *History of South Africa since 1795*, in five volumes. He will find it difficult to discern broad lines of movement and trace their causes in the maze of detail with which South African history is overloaded, and he may be advised to search for these for himself. He will be aided by reading such books as Sir Lewis Michell's *Life of Rt. Hon. Cecil John Rhodes*, wherein he will find not merely a comprehensive survey of South African politics but also an account of the extension of British sovereignty to the north and the founding of Rhodesia for the Empire, Lord Milner's *The Nation and the Empire*, a collection of speeches and addresses, and W. B. Worsfold's admirable and elaborately documented book *The Reconstruction of the New Colonies under Lord Milner*. The actual founding of the Union may be

studied in R. H. Brand's *The Union of South Africa* and Sir E. H. Walton's *The Inner History of the National Convention of South Africa*. Two of the actual books circulated in the colonies in furtherance of the campaign for union may be consulted: *The Framework of Union* and *The Government of South Africa*, published for the Closer Union Society; and the Minutes of the National Convention and the South Africa Act of 1909 itself should be examined.

While the smaller self-governing colonies have slowly been coming together to form the three great dominions, Canada, Australia and South Africa, there has been going on spasmodically a movement for the federation of the whole empire which has mainly been active in the United Kingdom. The works dealing with Imperial Federation are for the most part propagandist rather than historical, and it is impossible here to indicate more than one or two of them. The most authoritative and dispassionate works are those of Prof. A. B. Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, in three volumes, and its sequel, *Imperial Unity and the Dominions*. A. L. Burt's *Imperial Architects* surveys the proposals for Imperial federation that had been made before the meeting of the first Colonial Conference of 1887, and Col. G. T. Denison, in *The Struggle for Imperial Unity*, relates the story of some of the propagandist organisations for the furtherance of the idea. R. C. Jebb's *Studies in Colonial Nationalism*, *The Imperial Conference* and *The Britannic Question*, and Lionel Curtis's

The Problem of the Commonwealth are works of practical politics looking to the future rather than the past.

THE CROWN COLONIES AND PROTECTORATES.

The rapid growth of English trade with Asia in the first half of the nineteenth century was mainly due to the pacification of India, but it also was aided by the opening-up of China to European trade and by the acquisition of permanent British possessions in Malaya and the Far East. There is no comprehensive historical work covering the story of Britain's activities in Further Asia, but a good starting-point can be found in Sir Robert K. Douglas's *Europe and the Far East*, which contains a bibliography giving references to earlier works. Many details can be found in the later volumes of Capt. F. Brinkley's *Japan and China*, and Henri Cordier's *Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales*, but it will be necessary for any student who desires to get more than a cursory view of the subject to search among the many Parliamentary Papers referring to the activities of the East India Company. Reference to these is facilitated by M. J. Adam's *Catalogue of Parliamentary Papers relating to the Colonies since 1800* and the *Annual List and General Index of Parliamentary Papers relating to East Indies, 1801-1907*, published by the India Office. The biographies of the principal actors in the movement

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for opening up the Far East, like Lord Macartney, the Earl of Elgin, Sir Rutherford Alcock and Sir Harry Parkes, should be read in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and further reference made to the works mentioned in the short bibliographies attached.

The history of British activities in Malaya has been little studied, but reference may be made to Sir Stamford Raffles's *History of Java* (1817), and to his *Memoir* as a starting-point. Sir Frank Swettenham's *British Malaya* and Sir Hugh Clifford's *Further India* will form a general basis for a further survey of an important field of Imperial development.

The main current of movement for the development and extension of the British possessions in the latter half of the nineteenth century was concerned with Africa, where the great European powers were attempting to carve out for themselves and to exploit great blocks of territory previously unoccupied by white men. Before entering upon the study of this struggle some attention should be directed to the course of exploration in the Dark Continent and the work of Bruce, of Mungo Park, Livingstone, Speke, Stanley, De Brazza and other explorers examined. A survey of progress is to be found in the article on Africa in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. A good introduction to the history of the struggle is to be found in Sir H. H. Johnston's *History of the Colonisation of Africa by Alien Races*, and his little book on *The Opening-up of Africa* in the Home Univer-

sity Library. The story can be studied in detail in Sir J. Scott Keltie's *The Partition of Africa*, in two vols., and Hertslet's *Map of Africa by Treaty*. These may be supplemented by Sir F. D. Lugard's *Rise of Our East African Empire*, C. W. J. Orr's *Making of Northern Nigeria* and P. E. Lewin's *The Germans and Africa*.

The considerable mass of controversial literature concerning the Congo Free State and the general management of African protectorates can be referred to by means of the *Subject Index to Additions to Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum* and Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature*. The two volumes of the *Cambridge Modern History* on "The Growth of Nationalities" and "The Latest Age" and the later volumes of Lavissee and Rambaud's *Histoire Générale* contain manageable surveys of the story of recent colonisation in Africa from different standpoints.

For the recent history of the management of Crown colonies reference should be made to Sir Charles Bruce's ill-arranged but very interesting *Broadstone of Empire*, in two vols., C. P. Austin's *Colonial Administration, 1800-1900*, written for American readers and provided with a good bibliography, Alleyne Ireland's *Tropical Colonisation*, Benjamin Kidd's *The Control of the Tropics*, and F. Brunsdon Fletcher's *The New Pacific*. This last work illustrates something of the many ill-explored fields of colonial conflict in the last generation that still remain to be investigated by the historian. Important comparisons between

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the Crown colony administration of Britain and the type of colonial work in which other powers are solely interested can be drawn by reference to the many publications of the Institut Colonial of Brussels. These elaborate studies are almost entirely concerned with the problems of tropical colonisation.

INDIA SINCE THE MUTINY. EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.

The history of India since the suppression of the Mutiny and the abolition of the East India Company in 1858 has been mainly one of social and economic progress. The general histories of British India that have been previously mentioned deal less fully with this period than with the time of wars, but reference must necessarily be made to them since the reforms of the modern period can elsewhere only be studied in works on current politics. The student will find it advisable to read Sir Courtenay Ilbert's authoritative work on *The Government of India* in its most recent edition, together with the codifying *Government of India Act* of 1915, Sir Mortimer Durand's interesting book, *The Making of a Frontier*, and R. Chunder Dutt's *Economic History of India in the Victorian Age*.

The history of modern Egypt and the great work of regeneration done there by British officials in the course of a generation has been vividly told

by many of the actors in the events described. Every student of colonial history ought to read something of such books as Lord Cromer's *Modern Egypt*, Lord Milner's *England in Egypt*, and Sir Auckland Colvin's *The Making of Modern Egypt*. He will find innumerable points of comparison with the history of other parts of Britain's Imperial work and will be stimulated to a better appreciation of some of the difficulties that have been faced and solved during the three centuries of Britain's rule overseas.

HISTORICAL ATLASES.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the student of colonial history will be compelled to make constant use of his atlas in order to realise clearly the geographical conditions that have governed the progress of expansion both by sea and by land. Charts of winds and currents will explain many obscure points as to the direction taken by the early voyagers, and in a similar way contour and orographical maps will help much in the explanation of the routes of overland expansion. For strictly historical maps the most accessible cheap historical atlas is that published by Messrs. George Philip and Son for the Historical Association, which contains several colonial maps. The *Literary and Historical Atlas of America* and the similar atlases for *Asia* and *Africa and Australia* in the Everyman Library are accessible and con-

venient, but the maps are very small. There is an excellent small *Historical Atlas of India*, by Joppen, published by Messrs. Longmans. Prof. Ramsay Muir's *Historical Atlas* and *The Oxford Historical Atlas* contain colonial maps, as does the excellent French historical atlas of Vidal-Lablache.

ADDENDUM.—Since these pages were written there have appeared in the World's Classics, published by the Oxford University Press, two little volumes of *Select Documents illustrative of British Colonial History*, treating mainly of the nineteenth century. The volumes have been edited by Prof. A. B. Keith, and every student of Colonial History ought to possess them.

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